* 539 /131 cont./
be the first war, and Siópuri Uejké will make the first war, and Siópuri Uejké will have his country taken away from him. The Brazilians will take from him the country of Siópuri Uejké, and Siópuri Uejké will find another country toward the cordillera. After finding his country, Siópuri Uejké and his people will bury their bones in their country when they die." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "And you and all your people will bury your bones in your country when you die." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "You too are going to make war. And that is going to be all right." And Yepá Huáke sustained the country of Yúpuri Baúro. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "When that war is over, Siópuri Uejké will come to your country and do not kill him. Then the Ereya (50)

50. The Brazilians.

will come, and you may kill the Ereya. And in this way you are going to learn to read and to write, and then you will put an end to your malocas" (51).

51. Put an end to the Tukano culture, that is, they will learn to live differently.

Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "I made this world for you. All the people will fight for three years, and in that way the world will end. It will rain and the world will burn and it will become dark." And then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: /132/ "While they are fighting, you will not fight, because your tribe will come to an end before the war and the end of the world. After Siópuri Uejké and Ereya arrive in your land, you are only going to have one woman, and that woman will have only one child or two children, and the woman of your brother will not have children, and that is how the Tukano will end (52).

[797]
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• [161]

52. The Christian Missionary has prohibited

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/132 cont./

polygyny. Explanation for the constant diminution of the Tukano population.

And Siópuri Uejké and Ereya will command you. And they will have you as slaves and humiliated ones. I forbid the Tukano to take their woman from their own tribe, but they can get their woman from outside their tribe (53),

53. Obligatory exogamy exists in Tukano culture.

for example, a Yurutí or Tariana or Desana woman." And there were only three tribes from which the Tukano could get women. Yurutí, Tariano /Tariana/, and Desano /Desana/. And they did not fight with these tribes in order to get women, because a brother and sister of one tribe exchanged with a brother and sister of another tribe. And Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúroe "If you want to get a woman from another tribe that is not Yurutí, Tariano, or Desano, you will have to do it by fighting (54).

54. With any other tribe that is not the Yurutí, the Tairiano /sic/, and the Desano, the form of marriage is by abduction. During the abduction fights take place between the male relatives of the girl who is abducted and the committee of men who have come to get the wife for the bridegroom. This committee is formed by the male relatives of the bridegroom and the bridegroom does not take part in the abduction.

*539 And the first woman that you will get by fighting will be Tuyuca. Do not kill, just fight and take the woman. The second woman will be Uanana, and do not kill them either, just take the woman.

/66 cont./
000 wrapped in dark shadows (21).

21. A summary of what is reasonably thought in our days can be found in the work by Paul Rivet: Les origines de l'Homme Américain /The origins of American Man/, Montreal, 1943.

177 It is certain, however, that, starting from the eighteenth
648 century, the relations of the colonizers with these natives have become more and more frequent and long-lasting. From these relations, some probable, others proved, have resulted the modifications of the natives, and adoption, more or less altered, of the usages of the civilized. It is the other aspect of the phenomenon of acculturation, and well marked, which can be verified on the Uaupés in the half of this century.

829 3rd. Although biologically and culturally tending toward a leveling, they consider themselves socially unequal. The
[567] group of Tukano tribes is the most noble. The Makú are
[648] considered and called slaves (in Tukano poxsá, a term that, according to A. Giacone, means the one who works gratis), and they themselves considered themselves such, serving without remuneration the tribes of the Tukano and Taryana
[554] groups. Within the same group of tribes, such as in the subdivisions (cf. VIII-3, c) of each tribe, they are also graded according to a certain nobleness, which is recognized without any discussion. The Prehistory of these tribes might bring some light on this curious practice.

• 161 4th. Another palpitating question emerges among all: is this indigenous population perhaps on the road to disappearing? Or, who knows, is it maintaining itself numerically the same; or perhaps even tending to increase? We lack statistical data for comparison. We can, nevertheless, affirm:

/67 cont./

842 b) An unquestionable fact is the fertility of the Indian woman. From the investigations made, there was reported to us only one instance of an individual's sending his wife back as sterile, the judgment, evidently, of the husband. In spite of the advantages or convenience of the Indian woman who does not want to have many children (and we have heard from their lips several times this declaration: "it is ugly to have many children"), and the practices that they use to space each delivery 2, 3, and even 4 or more years apart, the presence of numerous children in each povoado pleasantly surprises us. In our investigations we found a vigorous Indian man about 45 years of age, who had 11 children (24).

[171] 24. It is a matter of the Indian Agostinho Barbosa of the Taryana tribe, in Iauareté. It is true that in December of 1948 four of his 11 children had already died.

163 On one of our lists of individuals of various tribes, in the casual order in which the anthropometric measurements were made, 20 married people among men and women, of about 35 years of age or older, presented a total of 101 children. Therefore an average of 5 children per couple is shown. It is to be noted that only 18 dead children, without discrimi-
161 nation as to age, appear on this same list. If we imagine that all adults marry (ordinarily after 20 years of age) (25),

[587] 25. There was reported to us only the case of one man who did not find a wife; it is to be noted, however, that it was a matter of a widower.

and that the two sexes more or less correspond in number, it should be concluded that the population has

/67 cont./
• 161 increased (26).

26. With pleasure we found some of these opinions confirmed by the Vigário /Vicar/ of S. Gabriel, the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, from the end of the eighteenth century. In No. 208 of his [164] "Noticias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/" he points out: "What indeed is worth noting is that there is not found among the central heathen the sickness that is called humores gallicos /French disease, syphilis/, according to what has been ascertained on the rivers Uaupé, Japurá, Juruá, Jutahí, and others, and because of that perhaps there is among them great propagation as daily experience shows; in any descimento /descent; see p. 35 / one sees double and triple the children of both sexes."

c) It might happen that one finds partially or even totally uninhabited a place that, years before, was flourishing. This fact per se does not authorize one to conclude that one is dealing with a decrease /68/ in population. There might have been migration to another place, as a consequence of there having been some epidemic or fight in the original povoado. It is true 164 that there have been epidemic attacks of colds ("catarro, ehõ," says the Indian), measles (27),

27. In August and September of 1956 successive attacks of whooping cough, measles, and malaria decimated approximately 200 natives on the rivers Uaupés, Papurí, and Tiquié.

or malaria (uháke), which have decimated the population of one [797] group or another. The sanitary assistance that the Salesian Missions are giving them has avoided such attacks or has reduced the danger of them.

/82 cont./

*701 The more noble subdivisions established themselves from Piracuara upwards (river Papurí), with a group of the Waú-ro coming down as far as Ananaz (Uaupés).

According to Frei Gregório's maps, in 1853 the Tukano on the river Uaupés lived in: Pacú-cachoeira, Iuquira-Rapecuma, S. Joaquim, Naná-Rapecuma, S. Jerônimo de Ipanoré, and Iauareté-cachoeira. The first "Relatórios" of the eighteenth century (cf. "Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, No. 174; "Diario" /Diary/ of Sampaio, No. 366) already report the presence of Índios Uaupés in S. Isabel, today Tapurucuá, in the middle Rio Negro. In fact, a Tukano group is still found in that vicinity.

161 According to Koch G. (Festschrift Eduard Seler, 206) the Tukano would come to 1,500 souls. They must, however, be rather more numerous. The statistics of Pelo Rio Mar report in Brazilian territory alone 1,622 individuals; and those of Colombian territory are equally numerous. It is possible that they exceed two thousand.

829 We have sketched the physical appearance of the Tukano (IV -- 1, a (1)). The physical and spiritual qualities do not reveal any superiority over the other tribes. On the contrary, some of these present more delicate features and perhaps even a better configuration and anatomical proportions. Nevertheless, the Tukano, as we have already noted, considers himself /83/ superior to the other tribes and this primacy is peacefully granted [197] to him. The Missionaries explain this superiority by the fact that the other tribes accepted his language as the official, or at least general, idiom on these rivers. Logically the generalization of the idiom would be explained by the superiority of [173] the tribe. This inconsistency is to be pointed out: according to the Tukano tradition, they were defeated by the "Blood children of the Thunder," the Taryana, who finally accepted the Tukano language.

/89 cont./

*101 d) DOXKÁ POARÁ OR TUYUKA

1) People-Name-Language -- In the Tukano language they are called Dyí-khãra (Dyi-khãna), and in their own idiom Doxká poára or Doxká fhwará or foará; or, as a contraction, Doxká-rá [317] (sing., masc. Doxká-poarõ; fem. doxká-poaro). Tuyuka is a Nheengatú word that means clay, mud; and, with more accuracy, the clay or potter's earth used to make the cooking pots. The Tukano explain /90/ that the name is due to the fact that they live in the land where there is the clay for pots. It is easy to grant that in the beginning this clay, which later was found in many other beds on the Uaupés and other rivers, was only found there. Because of this very fact, would not the Tuyuka have been [323] the first potters? The ceramic art today is common and excellent [501] in the various tribes. The Tuyuka at present have the reputation of being specialized canoeists.

[197] Their language belongs to the Tukano family (cf. our works "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/") with traces of Karaiba, [142] Chestmir points out. The idioms of the Tuyuka and the Bará are the closest ones of the Tukano language, affirms Koch G. He distinguishes these two Tuyuka somatic types: the slender /Port. fino, fine, slender, delicate/ and the stout /Port. grosso, coarse, stout/ or corpulent (Zwei Iahre, 202).

[582] They do not marry the Desana.

• [161] 2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They fluctuate around half a thousand members (378 in Brazil, in Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/; we know that they are more numerous in Colombian territory), and their present habitat is the headwaters of the Tiquié. Frei Gregório, with the help of the Director of the Indians, Jesuino Cordeiro, managed to found the aldeia of S. Pedro do Tiquié with Tuyuka Indians, where they are still found, but living in the maloca (in 1947).

/92 cont./ *101

1. Saſrõã-masĩ (water people? gossiping people?)
2. Yebá-masĩ
3. Roeá-masĩ (taraíra /a fish/ people)

/In the original text, the last two lines of p. 91 are repeated here, which is apparently a misprint and is omitted in the translation./

g) HANERA OR PANENÕÁ.

1) People-Name-Language. -- A type taller and slighter than the Tukano. A redder complexion, long face, delicate chin, high nose, wide forehead. [142]

Their idiom, which must be affiliated with the Tukano linguistic family (cf. Vocabulary, in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), presents this peculiarity: an initial aspirate (h, as we represent it in this work) appears in words in which the Tukano pronounces a p; for example: father, hakõ (Tukano pax-kõ), mother, hakó (Tukano, pax-kó), etc. This characteristic of their idiom explains to us the correspondence of their name in their own language, Hanẽra, and in the Tukano, Panenõá, or Parẽroá.

/93/ We know that they are connected by marriage with the Barâ and Tuyuka.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We have only seen a few individuals in passing by the maloca called Mosĩ-bhoá (mountain of the urucú) of the Barâ, on the igarapé Uaracú-pirẽra, and in their maloca close to the mouth of the Timí-ya. They were unable to give us any information about the approximate number of individuals in their tribe. It seems that they do not exceed four hundred. At present they reside only in Colombian territory, on various igarapés on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná. [161]

The informants of the eighteenth century testify that it was from the Panenõá that the Taryana obtained by barter their ornaments of gold and silver (cf. II -- 3) and momõrõ Khwirí (VII -- 3, d). [301] [439]

/94 cont./

*101 The Ide-masã are in general less corpulent than the Tukano. Although of lighter complexion, somewhat pale, elongated face, high, slightly aquiline nose, not very prominent zygoma, almond-shaped eyes almost always light brown. The hair in general is dark or even black, fine, not lissotrichous; instead, many times even wavy.

[582] Tribal exogamy is in force among them. And we know that they are connected by marriage with the Tuyuka, Barã, Emõa, Yebá, Bã:re, Roéra. Not only the women, but also the [301] [304] men wear pierced ears with a small plug two to three millimeters in diameter, which keeps the orifice open.

A peculiarity of this tribe is the dances with masks. We had the opportunity to see the masks representing Waxtĩ and the [532] monkey. The one of Waxtĩ was a true white mask, made of bark, like a round face, with a long slit representing the mouth, a long and pointed nose, and, on the sides of the base of the nose, two slits, somewhat slanted, by way of eyes. The one that represented the monkey was a plain shirt of tururi, with a pointed part, like a hood, covering the head. In this hood there were two holes corresponding to the eyes and two points upwards representing ears.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They are found scattered over a very wide area: all the stream Comé-ia (stream of the iron or of the ax, in the Ide idiom Koméryaka, tributary of the left bank of the Pirá-paraná), the Miritĩ-paraná, Apapóris, and the Kamorĩ (which, according to indications by the same tuxáua, • [161] must be a tributary of the river Solimões). They seem to be quite numerous, that is, several hundreds. The number of divisions that the tribe presents seems to confirm this information.

[115] c) /sic/ Divisions. -- Furnished by the Indian Hinõ (that is, snake), also known as Fernando, about 50 years old (in August of 1956), tuxáua of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hido (mouth of the igarapé of the spider), on the left bank of the Komé-ya, about 10 hours by canoe from the mouth.

/95 cont./

1) IHWANA OR YONA

*101 1) People-Name-Language. -- We were unable to find out for certain the meaning of the name Ihwana or Yona; it might be the name of a fish. The language is of the Tukano family, as is seen from the Vocabulary that we collected in the Wextá maloca on the Pirá-paraná near the mouth of the Komé-ya.

[142] [30] The individuals of the maloca were slighter and had more delicate features than the Tukano. All the men had pierced their ear lobes, keeping them open with a bunch of bird feathers. A cord binding the arms a little below the shoulders, and red paint across the face, indications perhaps of some feast a short [142] time before. Dark hair, cymotrichous, with slight waviness, and eyes lighter than those of the Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- They reside in malocas along the Pirá-paraná and its small tributaries nearby, and below the cachoeira of the Beijú, where at low water one can see a beautiful design that resembles a Chinese dragon. Because of a lack of interpreters, we were unable to find out the number [161] of members of the tribe or /96/ its subdivisions. From the information obtained, we think it might be concluded that there are still several hundreds.

J) KÕ'NEÁ OR ARAPÁSU

1) People-Name-Language -- They call themselves Kõ'neá (in Tukano Kõ-rẽá), the name of a variety of woodpecker called arapásu in Nheengatú.

[173] According to reminiscences of an ancient tradition, it was a very numerous and brave tribe. When individuals of other tribes passed the river Uaupés in the zone dominated by the Arapásu, the latter surrounded them, took away all their products, and afterwards sank their canoes, allowing them, however, to escape. The victims would avenge themselves "blowing" [161] (that is, casting an evil spell; cf. VII -- 2, e (1)) on the Arapásu, who, little by little, became extinct.

/96 cont./

*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- In Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/ we read that their center is the region embraced between the Uaupés and the Japurá, from where they moved to the Uaupés and were settled by Frei Gregório in S. Jerônimo, Naná-Rapecuma, and S. Joaquim.

/97/ Pe. João Marchesi, arriving among them in 1925, learned from the old Arapásu that they were the masters of the Uaupés from S. José to the mouth. Because they were more sociable and pleasant than the other natives, many women became wives of the civilized, and many men of the tribe were taken for labor. Many, on the other hand, established themselves on the lower Rio Negro, and others perished. Many caboclos of that region come from the crossing with Arapásu. The tribe thus became greatly reduced. There was a large group in Pinú-pinú (Uaupés) that emigrated to the lower Rio Negro. [161] Upon returning, it found the Taryana established there, and they did not want to relinquish the place, alleging that they were many and the Arapásu were less numerous.

Today a little over a hundred of them live on the right bank of the Uaupés, between S. José and Paraná-jucá.

3) Subdivisions (33)

[115] 33. This division was furnished to us by Pe. Antônio Giacone, SBD. It is to be noted that it is not similar to the names of the divisions of the other tribes. Perhaps, indeed, because they do not know them any longer. All the Arapásu whom we could consult maintained this. And one of them came to ask us whether we knew how the ancient divisions of his tribe were named. The names below are only indications of the places where they presently live. It is possible that each povoado today represents one of the ancient divisions.

/98 cont./

*101 Matrimonial interdiction with the Pirá-tapuya is in force.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/" says that they were settled in Thomar in the eighteenth century by the Carmelites. They were, as is shown from the "Diário" of Sampaio, the Uayuna. It seems to us, however, that this is an Arwake tribe of the river Japurá, and not the Wanãna, who are of the Tukano linguistic family. We also think, for this same reason, that they cannot be identified with the Ana tribe, who came down from the Orinoco, according to the explorers of the eighteenth century.

• [161] Their present habitat is the middle Uaupés, from Japú-ponta to the mouth of the Querarí, coming to about 600 individuals, according to Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 271). In the statistics of "Pelo Rio Mar" we find the number 367 for the ones attended to by the Salesian Missions. They informed us that the number of those who live in Colombian territory is much greater.

*[115] 3) Divisions -- Informant Maximiano Sá, about 25 years old (1953), and a group of men in Carurú-cachoeira.

1. Khenẽ (water duck) on the igarapé Paca (tributary of the Uaupés)
2. Biali (variety of duck), in Matapí (river Uaupés)
3. Wai kapéa nãrori (35)

35. The young man Ernesto Domingues, instead of Nãrori, said ỹáhori and informed us that it means the mud from the bank of the river.

ponáyro (nãrori of eye of fish), in Macucú (river Uaupés)

4. Uryá nãrori (a worm), in Iutíca (river Uaupés)
5. Dyãni ponáyro (white duck), in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés; the informants were from this group)
6. Batíri-ká poná (japurá, a fruit), in Arara (river Uaupés)
7. Stúpo poná (pot, water vessel), in Jacaré (river Uaupés)
8. Doxkana poná (pestle hand), on the igarapé Paca

/101 cont./

*101 [161] 2) Habitat and inhabitants -- The only survivors of the tribe in Brazil, about a hundred persons, live on the lower Tiquié in Urubu-lago and Iraiti. They informed us that, because of dissension, one group, perhaps around the end of the last century, fled to the river Japurá (Colombian territory), and that they probably still know the original mother tongue.

[115] 3) Divisions -- Furnished by Luciano, of the Umũhori group, about 50 years old, and Maria Cabral, of the Umú-põ group, about 22 years old, both from Iraití.

1. Ixsé-pi poná (?), in Iraití and Urubu-lago (river Tiquié)

/102/

2. Pêru bayá poná (master of the caxirí /see p. 595 / dance), Urubu-lago (came from the Japír)
3. Mahá bayá poná (master of dance with arara feather), in Iraití
4. Umũhori poná (?), on the stream Umú-ya, tributary of the Uaupés
5. Sõ-poá (?), extinct
6. Umú-põ (?), in Iraití and river Japurá
7. A-ú (?), extinct
8. Horí-di (?), in Iraití.

n) OÁ-MAHÃ OR MIKURA-TAPUYA

[115] 1) People-Name-Language -- Their idiom belongs to the Tukano linguistic family, as is verified by the Vocabulary that we obtained from an Indian woman named Kaxpé, about 45 or 50 years old, a native of the stream Inambú, tributary of the Papurí, and married to a Tuyuka from the Tiquié, where she resides in the last maloca on Brazilian territory, near the Colombian border. The Nheengatú name Mikura-tapuya, or gambá /opossum/ people, is the translation of the name Oá-mahã in the native idiom.

*101 /103 cont./

• [161] From the information that we obtained, the number of inhabitants of this tribe must fluctuate around 300.

[115] 3) Divisions. -- Furnished by the Indian woman Kamõõ, about 45 years old (1954), from the headwaters of the river Áua:

1. Tsuninó (?), on the river Pirá-paraná
2. Pirõ (snake), on the Pirá-paraná
3. Petári suninõ (?), Pirá-paraná
4. Oá-maxsĩ (gambá /opossum/ people), on the river Pirá-paraná (38)

38. Would Oá-mahã or Mikura-tapuya be the same tribe?

*[192] p) PAMÍWA OR KUBEWÃNA -- Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 87) is of the opinion that the name Kobéua is only a nickname given by their ancient enemies, the Arwake, from the frequent use of the word kõbãuõ, nothing, no. In the Tukano idiom they are called Poterí-khãra, which means "people or inhabitants of the headwaters of the rivers" (cf. their name in different native languages; cf. IV -- 3). They, however, call themselves Pamíwa (sing., masc. pamíkõ, fem. pamíko). Curt Nimuendajú and Koch record Hehénawa as the name of the tribe. The Hehénawa constitute only a principal group of the Kubewana, whom Koch found in the maloca of Namakoliba (Z. I. 276) (*).

* Koch says that on the sources of the Querari there is a small Kubewana group called Abóxõhãhãnaua, that is, Kubewana-Jurupari, a name that the Wanana translate Waxtíkuxtipinoa; and the ones from Uaracapuri (Uaupés) are Olobahãhãnaua, called Diádãltoa by the Wanana.

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*101 1) People-Name-Language -- Their language belongs to the Tukano family, as can be verified by the Vocabulary that we transcribed and recorded (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous idioms of Amazonia/"). Chestmir affirms that it now shows Karaíba vestiges.

/104/ Anthropologically they are readily distinguished from the Tukano. They are taller, less corpulent, and, above all, less markedly Mongoloid in physiognomy than the latter.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They are found living on the upper Uaupés, on the frontier of Brazil and Colombia, and on the rivers Querarí, Cuduiarí, and the headwaters of the Içana. [797] The first explorers already found them in this habitat. About a century ago Jesuíno Cordeiro settled some hundreds of them in Mitú and on the lago do espelho /lake of the mirror/.

• [161] Including a thousand souls, according to the calculations of Koch Grünberg, who says that the Kubêwãna dominated two Arwáke groups of the Querarí and imposed on them their language and customs: the Hõhõwa and the Káwa (39).

> 39. Two or three families of the Káwa still survive (cf. II-6, a (5)). As for the Hõhõwa, whom Koch G. talks about, perhaps they would be the Hehénakõ or Hehénawõ, now considered a subdivision of the Kubêwana, as it can be seen on the charts transcribed here.

Many of the latter, however, emigrated to the Içana River, and in contact with the Arwáke groups there, they again took on their Arwáke character (Zwei Iahre, 72).

/111 cont./

*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- One group of Yebá-masã lives on the headwaters of the igarapé Iaíssa (igarapé of the house of the onça /jaguar/), still in Brazilian territory; but the totality is in Colombian territory, in the interior of the forest watered by the Komé-ya. Probably they do not exceed two or three hundred members. [161]

[115] 3) Divisions. -- The five primary divisions were furnished to us by an Indian of the tribe, named Joaquim, about 25 years of age (in 1954), and the last two, by the Indian João, 40 years old, of the Tuyuka tribe, from the maloca of the Iaíssa. The Roéra and Emõã appear in the following divisions. We were not able to find out whether they are homonymous tribes, as is more probable, considered as more closely related. Their habitat coincides with those of these tribes, as can be seen in the respective places.

1. Doé or Roé (taraíra /fish/), on the Komé-ya
2. Wĩhuri or Wĩpuri (?), on the Komé-ya

/112/

3. Áyawa (?), on the Komé-ya
4. Héta (?), on the Komé-ya
5. Kuíto (?), on the Komé-ya
6. Emõã-masã (guariba /howler/ monkey people), on the Komé-ya
7. Sẽi-masã (barrigudo /woolly/ monkey people), on the Komé-ya (42)

[136] 42. Sẽi is the monkey of the genera Lagothrix and related ones, which is also called aimoré, because of which the natives of this group are sometimes called Aymoré-tapuya.

/112 cont./

*101 u) WAHYÁRA OR YURITÍ-TAPUÚA

1) People-Name-Language. -- The Indians known as Yuritĺ-tapuya are called in their own idiom Wahyara or Uhayána and belong to the Tukano linguistic family, but their language exhibits Karaíba vestiges, so Chestmir affirms (cf. Vocabulary in the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical"). Juritĺ is the translation of the name of the dove wahyara. They have a longer face and lighter complexion than the Tukano, as well as being taller and slimmer than the latter.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- Chestmir tells of their existence on the river Caiari. As far as has been reported to us, it is in the Colombian region between the Uaupés and the Papurí that some groups of the Juritĺ live, as well as in
• [161] Acuaricuara (river Paca) and its surroundings. It seems to us that they are more numerous than the Suryana.

In "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/" it is said that they were settled in 1852 by Frei Gregório on the river Uaupés, in Aracapurí, Carurú-cachoeira, S. Jerônimo and S. Joaquim, and a century before by the Carmelites in Thomar. And that they are very closely related to the Huhúteni and are called Halikuliarú by the Siwsí. We think that there is a serious mistake here. The Huhúdeni are of the Arwake group, and the Juritĺ, whom we are talking about, belong, by language, to the Tukano group. It is true that the physiognomic features of the Juritĺ are less Mongoloid and more delicate than those of the Tukano.

[115] 3) Divisions. -- Informant Emília Cordeiro, about 40 years old, in Acuaricuara in November of 1953.

1. Dexpoá Waxtí panamẽna (head of Waxtí), on the headwaters of the Paca
2. Tsyára Wahyára (swallow), at the mouth of the Turí-igarapé, in Nenĺya
3. Dyáta poná (water duck), on the headwaters of the Cussá

/113 cont./

101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- They do not appear on the lists of the eighteenth century. It is interesting to point out that the Pira-tapuya are indicated on Frei Gregório's maps in Carurú-cachoeira, Iauareté, Juquira, S. Joaquim, that is, in povoados of other tribes and not where we found and recorded them (III). Their principal nucleus is the Papurí, from where they later moved to the Uaupés. It is probable that they arrived in Brazil before the Tukano.

[161] They fluctuate around six hundred (588 in the statistics of "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/," distributed in this way: on the Uaupés, in Jacaré-ponta and surroundings of Ananás and Taracuá, in Urubucuara, Mariuá, Buzina, in Uaracú-ponta, which is their largest center nowadays, and on the outskirts of Umarí. On the Papurí: in S. Gabriel, S. Paulo. They are, moreover, numerous in the Colombian frontier territory.

[115] /114/ 3) Divisions. -- Indicated by a group of Pirá-tapuya from Teresita (river Papuri).

1. Wehétera or Vetára poné (powder), in Teresita, Ucapinima, Japim, Japú (river Papuri), and Uaracú (river Uaupés)
2. Swãrya poné (red ones), in Macú-paraná and África (Papurí)
3. Sasíro poné (sasíro, a large grasshopper), in Uaracú (Uaupés)
4. Kenẽ poné (a cockroach), on the river Paca
5. Pãta poné (a toad that swells), in Japim (Papurí)
6. Busãna poné (paineira /tree/), on the igarapés of the river Japurá
7. Buxpó poné (thunder), in S. Tomé (Bela Vista) on the lower Uaupés
8. Duxkodõ poné (thin), in Bela Vista
9. Ñamá-emẽperoa poné (deer ear), in Ituim-ponta (Papurí)
10. Ñapá poné (a toad), in Ararí-pirá (Uaupés)
11. Komé-pá poné (stone of the ax), in S. Francisco

/115 cont./

*101 The vocabulary we managed to get (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical") reveals as great a distance from the Tukano idiom as they are different anthropologically from this tribe.

[142] Short, as they are, but more slender and fairer, and with a tapered face. Chestmir affirms that their idiom exhibits Karaíba intrusion.

They are specialists in making sieves and in the preparation

[284] of the tucum. The Tukano affirm that they learned with the

[184] Desana how to make the "hammock of thirty threads" (VI - 2, c (2)).

[582] Marriage with the Taryana and Arapásu is forbidden for

[142] them (48).

48. We read in Koch Grünberg that they marry the Makús. We could not verify that. Perhaps it was a matter of a particular case reported to Koch. From the hundreds of individuals we observed, Koch's opinion that they differ from the other tribes in the following somatic features does not seem acceptable to us either: "not so well proportioned body, high head, coarse hair, oval face, prominent zygoma, large nose, somewhat slanted eyes."

[161] /116/ 2) Habitat and inhabitants. They come to several hundreds (601 in the census of "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/"). Today we find them in large numbers on the Papurí and tributaries, but especially on the Tiquié and its tributaries -- the Castanho, Umarí, Ira, and Turí-igarapé. Some groups came down, as early as the beginning of the last century, to

[191] the mouth of the Uaupés and the Rio Negro. These last ones, as we read in Giacone, "from the contact with the Caboclos and whites, are the most advanced; besides their own dialect and the Tukano, they speak Nheengatú, and many, Portuguese.

[438] Every year some of them go up the Tiquié and the Papurí, visiting their brothers, taking them goods acquired with the whites,

/118 cont./

*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- This tribe participated in the first migrations that took place on the Cuiarí and Içana, having as center on this river the locality of S. Pedro. The scarcity of fish in the Içana, in relation to the population, especially in some years, led some groups to migrate to the Uaupés in the middle of the last century. In larger number they passed through the forests of the Aiari, and others by way of the lower Içana. Among these last ones, the Ipeka group, which is found today in Urubucuara and surroundings and does not maintain any relations with the Ipeka of the Içana. It • [161] seems that at present the whole tribe does not exceed three or four hundred souls.

[115] 3) Divisions -- Informant Mandú Henriques of the Komãda-pú group, tuxaua of Urubucuara. It is to be noted that the various Kumãdẽne of the river Cuiarí whom we could consult, although they speak the native idiom, did not know how to indicate the divisions of the tribe.

1st. -- Kumãda-da (?), in Pinú-pinú, already extinct
2nd. -- Kumãda-pú (?), in Urubucuara
3rd. -- Kapási Máwesi (hook?), headwaters of the Yaviarí
4th. -- Hapáka (?), in Bacaba-cachoeira (Uaupés)
5th. -- Wamerída (?), in Bacaba-cachoeira
6th. -- Murisépa (?), in Periquito-cachoeira (Uaupés)
7th. -- Wirí-karúpa (uiripipí, bird), in Periquito (Uaupés)
8th. -- Kumãdáwẽi (row /Port. fileira, row, line, rank/), on the river Aiari.

z) /sic/ TALYSERI OR TARYÃNA

1) People-Name-Language. They are the principal representatives, on the river Uaupés, of the Arwáke ethnic and linguistic group. In the Tukano language, they are called Pãã̃na (name of a plant?), and in their own /119/ idiom Talyáseri or Talyéseri, and in various Arwáke idioms of the Issana, Tarídza or Taría. We think the word Taryana is derived from Talyaseri by rotacismo /sound shifting/ (exchange

4: Silva--360 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/247 cont./

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[797]

/footnote 76 cont./ plagues (insects) of every kind incapacitate the region for sufficient and economical agricultural production. The problem of hunger, driving away the inhabitants of the Uaupés, has not yet set in (and will be still longer in coming, as we note elsewhere), because it is a matter of small human bands, with a minimum of demands and already partially /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ helped by the food supplies that the Salesian Missions send in monthly from Manáus and other points of the country.

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[115]

Pertinent here is a talk that we had on the morning of the eighth of March 1956 with the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, who since 1922 has toiled heroically in the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, and which is found summarized in 6 points in our "Diário," the last five of which have to do with the subject in focus. That is: "1st. -- This year a larger number of Brazilian Indians who worked in Colombia died, among them three from Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquié); 2nd. -- The Caiarí (Uaupés) has fewer people today than before, and it is going to decrease even more; 3rd. -- The Indians tend to come down, and a good-sized group of them is already established in Tapurucuá (former S. Isabel, on the lower Rio Negro); 4th. -- Many of the Pirá-tapúya of Aracú-ponta (Uaupés) have already come down to the Rio Negro, and others want to come down to there (and actually in our company, and in the same launch, on November 14, 1956, about two dozen Pirá-tapúya came down to Tapurucuá; 5th. -- They are also coming down from S. Luzia (river Papurí); some have already /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ settled near Bela-Vista and Tauá (lower Uaupés), where there are good lands, and they devote themselves to gathering rubber, which they will sell to José Maria

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/247 cont./

/footnote 76 cont./ (Prefeito /prefect/ of Uaupés). And he repeated for us then the complaint that he had heard from the Indians: "The land is poor, it does not produce. Where are we going to find salt and clothes for our women?"

241 bring periods of scarcity. There can also be fixed every three or four years /248/ the period of hunger for these populations. The
241 indigenous conformism, the offshoot of indolence, ignorance,
731 and lack of ambition, the custom of the fasts, made obligatory
797 by the lack of food or imposed by traditions, the reserves of fruits that the forest provides, and sometimes, precisely in the season of the scarcity of flour, help the Indian to overcome this difficulty, which, by its frequency, indeed does not impress him. Nowadays he finds in the Salesian Missions relief for these periodic crises. During the times when their clearings do not supply them with mandioca for flour and beijú, the whole family, husband, wife, and children, runs to the Missionary centers. The parents will keep busy with some job, and, besides the daily pay they receive in order to acquire clothes and utensils, nourishment for themselves and all the children is assured.

7) Industry and trade.

177 We have already noted that among the tribes who live so close, in an environment with more or less identical natural resources, and bound together by marriage, and at times living in the same povoado, there is a cultural exchange in such a way that one tribe learns to make objects that formerly were made exclusively by the other and are still its specialty today; because it makes them better. From this exclusiveness in the production of certain objects, which correspond to the primary necessities of life, trade among the various tribes naturally followed. It
[438] seems that there is no trade within the tribe or maloca, because all of them know how to make the same things. Besides this, the communitarian spirit does not favor trade properly speaking.

/326 cont./

775 All the other souls meet under the ground, in a very deep, dark, and cold place (16),

[115] [764]

16. A young Tukano from Parí-cachoeira, Casimiro Sampaio, questioned as to why one places a match beside the cadaver which was buried, explained that it was in order not to feel cold. When we pressed as to whether the place where he was going was cold, he said yes. This concept of a cold hell is explained by recalling their warm region and they like the heat. To Padre Kok (according to what brother Pe. Afonso Kuypers told us), who described hell as a place of fire, an Indian said: "Better, so there is no need to make a fire there."

hence the need for fire. Therefore the metempsychosis is an extraordinary case of punishment.

They do not admit, however, human reincarnation, that is, that the spirit reappears, animating the body of a newborn child. One understands perfectly. Reincarnation can only be established in the /327/ human groups in which mortality and the birth rate are balanced. Among our natives there is a slight tendency toward an increase in the population, with periodic epidemics which decimate the malocas. [161]

Likewise they do not admit a future resurrection of human beings.

764 They have no fear of the cadaver at all (17),

17. It is an unpleasant sight, observed a Missionary (Pe. Umberto Limpens), to the Indian, as it is to all of us, because it makes them think of death.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamíwa* (first people). They also offered *pwẫnwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépwãnwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

6s Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

sixty feet wide, with the ridge of its roof thirty feet above the ground. This ridge is supported by six great posts, three on either side; the central space extending down the length of the *maloca* is like the nave of a church. The roof is thatched with palm fronds overlapping to a depth of four inches and extending almost to ground level on either side. These fronds may have to be brought from a great distance and vary in quality – the best lasting for years, while others rot quickly and require frequent patching.

As the sun rises each morning over the surrounding forest it lights on the striking clay and charcoal designs which are painted along the whole width of the front wall. Slivers of light find their way through the palm screening and form patterns on the floor and the walls inside. The only other light comes from the men's and women's entrances at opposite ends of the house, entrances which are often kept shut to discourage the flying insects that are usually at their worst during the middle of the day. From these doorways bars of sunlight cross the hard earth floor, lighting the main posts of the house. Beyond, just discernible, is the *chicha* canoe, the great vat which quenches the thirst of the dancing guests at festivals. Near by stands a forked pole where hang coca pouches, fruit-husk ankle-rattles and fretworked gourd *maracas*. On the floor are calabashes, some with coca inside, others with tobacco, and the wooden stools on which the men squat, passing half the night over their stories of past deeds in tribal wars and great hunting expeditions.

Overhead the smoke-blackened thatch is hidden in the gloom. Hanging from a beam is the most treasured possession: the barkcloth-covered palm box containing ceremonial feathers, monkey-fur belts and puma-tooth necklaces – all the precious adornments for the tribal dances, the greatest occasion of all in the lives of the Indians. The palm-woven screens, which divide the quarters of the women and the head of the house from those of guests, reach from floor to thatch. Near by are the great, flat, pottery cassava ovens. Hosts of baskets and *cumare* hammocks are strung from the house posts around the fires, and the hard earth floor is kept spotlessly clean by thousands of tiny scavenger ants.

Why the *malocas* should have been built on such a vast and gloomy scale remains a mystery. It is possible that their very size gives the Indian a sense of protection from the surrounding forest. It may also help to keep the interior cooler. But it is most likely a sign of depopulation, the breaking up of the clans through rubber exploitation and disease; where once a hundred or more people lived, now there are twenty.

José once told us that his father spoke of tribal wars on the river, when

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ABOVE: *Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking.* BELOW: *Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.* [see p. 62-B]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon[1]

ARTHUR P. SORENSEN, JR.
State University of New York at Binghamton

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In the central Northwest Amazon, straddling the Brazilian-Colombian border, there is a complex linguistic situation involving more than 25 linguistic groups with a homogeneous culture. Almost every individual knows fluently three, four, or more languages. Only the Makú and the few non-Indians are monolingual. There are four linguae francae, but only tribal Tukano, doubling as a lingua franca, covers the entire area. The principal reason for this complexity is the insistence on tribal exogamy and the cultural identification of language with tribe. Consequently, a child begins with a personal linguistic repertoire of fluency in his mother's language as well as in his father's; to this he adds a knowledge of other languages in his vicinity. Contact with civilized people for 75 years has not significantly altered this linguistic situation, and periodic attempts to prohibit Indian languages have failed. The political boundary, which separates Portuguese speakers from Spanish speakers, reinforces the linguistic complex, for only Tukano, as a lingua franca, covers the entire culture area. Polylingualism in the individual, rather than monolingualism, is the cultural norm.

THE CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND LINGUISTIC UNITS

Setting and Culture Area

In the central part of the Northwest Amazon, there is a large multilingual area encompassing many tribes, each possessing its own language, where almost every individual is polylingual—he knows three, four, or more languages well. The area of multilingualism coincides largely with the area in which the Tukano tribal language is a lingua franca. This area can be roughly defined as the Vaupés River and its tributaries. (The Vaupés flows into the Rio Negro, which in turn flows into the Amazon.) The region is the size of New England, or slightly larger. About half of it lies in Colombia and half in Brazil. The population is sparse, about 10,000.

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The area is in tropical rainforest, its terrain transitional between rolling plain and hilly upland. Geologically it is the most westerly extension of the Guiana highlands. Although some of the rivers are large—the Vaupés is over 1,000 feet wide—navigation, because of the many rapids, is restricted to dugouts and to small boats that can be hauled. This has made for a relative inaccessibility that has helped protect the Indian culture, especially during rubber boom times. The area, however, has not been isolated: there has been continuous contact with civilization since the rubber booms began around 1875.

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Most tribes occupy a delimited, continuous stretch of a river; a few have a discontinuous settlement pattern. Altogether they form one

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[P. 670-A]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

104 man, English, etc. There is great variation in the spellings. The spellings in this paper tend to follow those of Koch-Grünberg, who still remains the general authority for the area as a whole. His spellings are close to those used for Nheengatú. They generally conform with those used for world-wide ethnographic spellings; in addition, they seem to have been the spellings more commonly used in English, German, Portuguese, and Spanish ethnographies on South America.

101 *Population estimate.* Population figures are hard to estimate. The following are very impressionistic. Tribes with 1,000–2,000 members: Tukano, Kubeo, Baré; Spanish-only speakers. Tribes with 500–1,000 members: Piratapuyo, Wanano, Desano. Tribes with 150–500 members: Tuyuka, Yurutí, Paneroa, Eduria, Karapana, Tatuyo, Barasana, Siriano, Tariano, Tabaino, Makuna, Tekuana, Datuana; Portuguese-only speakers. Of the latter tribes, Yurutí, Yekuana, and Datuana may number fewer than 150 members. A few Salesian missionaries, in Brazil, are Italians.

There are probably a few hundred Makú in occasional contract with the multilingual Indians in this area.

Non-Indians probably number about 1,500 and are concentrated in the few air-strip towns.

For a very round figure, a population of 10,000 has been estimated for the multilingual area in which Tukano is the chief lingua franca. Of these 10,000, only the non-Indians, the Makú, and some of the Kubeo are not multilingual, so that over 80 percent of the population is multilingual. As the non-Indians are concentrated in the few air-strip towns and a dozen missionary posts, the effective distribution of multilingualism is much higher; close to 100 percent of the communities encountered in the area are multilingual. Of the multilingual Indians, well over 90 percent know Tukano at least as a lingua franca, with young children accounting for the majority of the few who do not.

NOTES

[114] [12] [1] This report is an expanded version of a paper presented to the Tenth Annual National Conference on Linguistics in New York on March 13, 1965. Field work was done in the summers of 1959, 1960, and 1962 and from June to December 1963. It was supported during much of this time by USPHS Research Grant MH-17,258. I wish to acknowledge the hospitality and cooperation extended to me by the Xaveriano missionary order in Colombia and the Salesian missionaries of the Brazilian Vaupés region. Various drafts of this paper were read by Drs. Charles

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